/71 cont./

201 412 [536] No activity with a tool of metal, stone, tooth, or wood was discussed without the appearance also of the appropriate sounds to portray it. It is true that a good part of this was to communicate with me, who knew only the rudiments of their language; they were more sparing with these /72/ sounds and gestures in their own conversation, but they nevertheless had at their disposal in ample measure the auxiliary language of expressive movement and used it in their communications with other tribes, as I saw later, in exactly the same way as with me. Thus the disadvantage that each tribe speaks a different language is of little concern; understanding was possible without difficulty even for a Karaiben, for the gestures, stereotyped, to be sure, nevertheless contain full clarity and still are not reduced to conventional abbreviations.

123 ●153 201 They also manifested an attentive interest in the interjections and gestures peculiar to me, which, of course, involuntarily took on a livelier expression than at home. If I accompanied any feeling with a sound that was strange to them, it was imitated; if I whistled softly to myself, I could soon hear one of them whistling happily along with me. Particularly if I laughed loudly and struck my leg, there was general acknowledgement: they would immediately slap their naked thighs, and Homeric laughter filled the village plaza.

126 My linguistic notes of the day, which I would bring out, were gone over once more in our tobacco club and were enriched by small contributions. The constellations, the names of animals, the inexhaustible material for parts of the body, and whatever the moment offered were noted down, read aloud, and confirmed with approval.

123 I, too, however, offered mimic performances, for which my interesting oxhide offered the first occasion; I demonstrated our domestic animals to them and achieved a greater measure of success among my small, but grateful public than could ever have fallen to the lot of even the author of "Tierleben" /Animal Life/ or much-admired performing artists. Above all they became acquainted with cattle, sheep, and dogs, whose size and characteristics I described graphically to them as best I could,

/72 cont./

123 and whose language "itáno" evoked loud outbursts of merriment and jubilation.

Then "muh," "mäh," "wauwau," and "miau" in all tones rang out from me and from them. Especially effective was the variation between the peculiar "mäh" of the old sheep and the pitiful "mäh" of a little lamb seeking its mother, between the barking of big curs and that of little yappers. Incidentally I commanded a rather good pronunciation in these itános, so that the shrewd experts on animal languages had no need to doubt the authenticity. I also tried to make clear to them the character of the animals by having different kinds, such as cat and dog, appear together, tried to explain to them that a dog, for example, obeys man, and was now in a position to instruct them about the origin
[153] of my woolen clothing -- mäh. They were attentive pupils who very soon mastered the subject matter completely and practiced assiduously.

The memorable session of our tobacco club in which I gave the first lecture about European domestic animals had extended far into the night, /Plate VI appears here/ /73/ but I took leave of happy men on whose faces was written: that was a fine evening. Luchu barked in exemplary fashion; he ran into the two houses from which a great deal of bright laughter had already been heard and ran around there with a wild wau-wau.

I was already lying half asleep in my hammock and believed the citizenry to be resting in their accustomed peace, when once more Eva's voice from over yonder roused me with a loud "mäh." So I replied "mäh" for a good ending from my sheep stall; there was giggling again everywhere behind the straw walls, and finally quiet actually came, until -- mäh, mäh even before sunrise -- I started up, cursing.

128 One day went by like the next. In the next chapter I shall relate fully how we worked together in my hut, how the Bakaïrí learned Portuguese and I Bakaïrí, while I shall add here what I have to report about our life together.

[text continues on p. 41]

/75 cont./

301 from the Batovy to the Kulisehu. I was confronted by one
438 woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cuyaban battalion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it tuchú,
301 stone?" asked these living prehistorics. Of course, the beads were likewise stone, and, on account of their gay colors, they
●153 preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I
179 had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle, the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their
[412] hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my
[237] scissors, the object of unreserved delight, which cut hair so smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha tooth." The mirror was "water!" "Show the water," they cried when they wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case, the needle always pointed to the highest position of the sun, and the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversation they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at any moment I could show them in all elegance and never disgraced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

/76 cont./

153 177 was later given by fat Yapü when Vogel showed him his gold watch and, in order to make him aware of the valuable gold, turned it over, by contrast, to the side with glass. Yapü happened to have in his hand a piece of beijú, a mandioca flat-cake, which is customarily baked well on only one side and thus had one beautiful golden yellow and one grayish white side: "Beijú," he said complacently and strode on. The appearance was familiar to him from the beijú, and there was really no point in delaying over it.

And here, too, I can recall their surprise when one of the gentlemen /Herren/ who was in a position to remove a set of false teeth put on this stunt. They marveled, but soon laughed, and a few days later when they were removing the teeth, their native "knives," from the piranha fish caught and were asked by one of the comrades /Kameraden, Ger. "comrades," the workers, the peons, on the trip, in contrast to the Herren, the "gentlemen" who were in charge of the expedition/ why they were doing this, one of them answered, not without wit: "So that we can help ourselves out, like the brother, when one day we grow old."

How would it have been possible actually to explain to them any of my apparatus or even a knife or a button? How should I have made a "machine" comprehensible to them? What they were obliged to do they did; they were very attentive and it was delightful to observe the liveliness and the air of importance with which a just demonstrated trick was described to a new arrival, an ignoramus in their eyes. Thus they quite accurately noted that my Swedish matches ignited only on the friction surface; with great enthusiasm a new arrival was instructed in Bakaïrí about "tända endast mot lådans plån." What lady among us would be able to say anything more about it? Not to mention the fact that none has any idea of what fire is. At first they were frightened, then they found the matter thrilling, then very nice and funny, and finally they reached the practical application and, when a fire was to be lighted, asked me to set fire to a thick chunk of wood with my Swedes. One woman, for whom the initial feeling probably continued to prevail, took an empty box and hung it around her baby's neck.

/76 cont./

153 Their need for probing into the nature of new things was
199 exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /77/ "Eséti?" "Eséti?" "What is that called?" cried the whole company in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after me the Portuguese words. One or another would often go on whispering the word to himself for a long time while the conversation went on. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succession. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducing the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impression that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "Papéra," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as the name for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not examine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they could now quickly come to terms with it: it was quite simply "papéra."

522 Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered,
[192] one will very soon know what "a pretty girl" is. Their "pekóto iwáku" or the more endearing "pekóto iwakulukúlu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita," which they were well able to imitate and which they now practiced with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eva: she laughed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and distinctly. She continued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do among us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say what "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayaua's attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very successful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so much that they were unable to talk for laughing; they fairly yodeled with abandon.

576 These were the gloomy and reserved Indians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawned openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It was not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here, too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained alone with my guard.

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193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding: for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 192 [194] [153] What made my recording not a little difficult was the circumstance that the Bakairi did not understand my questioning tone. They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about, and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the 126 193 body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ẑlu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general k'ẑulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 192 534 525 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imitation with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subtleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

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sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the context of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part. I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, stare, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and staring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaibe says it thus, how does the Bakairi say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response, for they were mad about learning my language.

They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

/93 cont./

moved, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Lucia is wearing on Plate 4, feathers with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an ear decoration with drawings, spinning wheels of the simplest type, that is, discs made of pottsherds, and a quantity of remarkable cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these Chini Bekebi it was clearly shown that we were with the section of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulina-Pano Indians. All kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such here. The Bekebi do not make any pots themselves and do not themselves have a place where they might fetch them for sale soon, but here we were immediately told that the pots came from the Mehinaki /Mehinacu/ and the mats soon from the Trumai. Among the pots one is the shape of a turtle represented an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head, tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently worked out. From the Aweti we found a half-broken clay doll, also originating from the Mehinaki, balls of finely spun cotton, from the Trumai and Suyá, skinny leather caps. From our own possession of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a cornrasp, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

We met a Nahuquá in person, unfortunately, the man was obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kuikuro of 1964 had a simple-minded Bekebi among them, the Yuruna likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens entrusted to neighbors for their use?

In the first-house anthropological measurements and photographs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there was a pronounced Mongolic type, of which Plate 11 represents a classic example. The people submitted to everything and called the caliper compass ũhũ, "mum." Only one man was indignant when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements.

[Misc p. 136 -- Analyst]

/93 cont./

124 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
93 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the
head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to
bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities
and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, and,
etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward
the kenkuĕ, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's
claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him
with small embroidery beads. For when I started to pay him,
he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after
each pair of beads, first pointing to the letter, then to the corre-
sponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list
was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile
up, I said to myself, and if the Bakairí produce many such
critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress.
Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies
and develops arithmetical gifts!

124 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
93 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already
half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on
the plaza.

125 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked
Furse to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did
not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the
collection among the tribes living downstream. Furse, before
our eyes, stowed the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the
center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 6:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
94 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
(97) others whose fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated
the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out
homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
12.2 hoguĕ, and a yumudu. We traded one of our small canoes for a
better, larger one.

/359 cont./

§21 For Antonio, who was clever enough to recognize the contradiction as soon as it was pointed out to him, was visibly hurt. "It may be," he finally declared sullenly, "that fire was added later through magic; in olden times there was none there." He is wrong about that, however. The heat was not added by magic, as Antonio thinks, but on the contrary, was conjured away. Nevertheless, present-day Bakaïrí science is rooted in the belief that sun and moon are feather balls, and no matter when or where it may have arisen, it furnishes us with a good example for understanding the thinking of the Indians.

§11 §21 It is sufficient for the explanation that a thing looks like another, more familiar one. The sun is a feather ball the moment one finds that it looks more like that than like a blazing fire. Even if the conclusion is one by analogy, it is fully convincing on this level, and the further explanations about the growing darkness and the course in the sky develop organically from the stimulus which has now been given. We say that there cannot be any animals up there, hence the heavenly bodies are not animals; the Bakaïrí, on the other hand, sees the animals or the feathers and does not ask whether they are there, but merely how they got there.

§21 I obtained no information about comets: Antonio simply remarked disdainfully: "They are supposed to bring harm to the Portuguese (the Brazilians are named only in this way), they don't do anything to the Bakaïrí." As for the planets, I was given only the name for Venus, which could not be translated.

•[153] Antonio was excellently informed about the heavens. He also understood the nature of my star map without any trouble. The first time I pointed out a few constellations to him, we went outside and looked for them in the sky. We returned to the room and he immediately found Sirius on the map. It along with Orion, Aldebaran, and the Pleiades are regarded as belonging together in a group. Orion is a large rack on which mandioca is dried, the larger stars are the knobs of the posts, and thus Sirius marks the end of a large cross-beam by means of which the rack is held from the side. The Pleiades, apparently the starting point of the entire conception, are a heap of grains of flour that have fallen to one